425 INYARULEMBO. Cows which continue to belong to a
231 Mututsi shepherd, but which may be at the home of one of his wives
192 or of an umugaragu. They remain near the master's dwelling, for they are to provide the milk needed for him and his family. Indemano given by a [52] cattle owner are called inyarulembo. Cows bought by a Mututsi umugaragu (intundano) are also called inyarulembo. On the other hand, those acquired by a Mututsi who has entered into a clientele contract become ingabane.

583 INKWANO. Milch cow given or received as dowry for the
231 marriage of a daughter or sister. It becomes imbata.
192

INDONGORANYO (1). Head of cattle given to the young

192
431
231

1. From kurongoranya, "to help set up housekeeping."

couple by the wife's parents, and sometimes by the husband's parents. Among the chiefs, the indongoranyo is given immediately after the marriage as a sign of friendship. Among the other Batutsi, the indongoranyo is given to the young woman by her father when she visits her parents after the birth of her first child.

IY'URUGORI (2). Milch cow or heifer which a young mother

[301]

2. From the name of the sorghum-straw band worn by Banyarwanda mothers on their heads.

receives from her father or her father-in-law, unless she has already had an indongoranyo bestowed on her. If the marriage is broken, the urugori is not claimed from the wife's family.

[60] IY'ICHYARI. The daughter-in-law is not allowed to see her father-in-law during the first days of marriage. When he lifts the interdiction, the father-in-law can give an ichyari to the young couple. Among the Bahutu, a sheep or a goat is given instead of a cow.

431 IY'IGISAGE. Cow given by a father to his son when the
192 latter reaches the age of six or seven years old. At that moment,
231 the hairdress he has worn until then (igisage) is changed to one called
● 302 amasunzu (3). The Muhutu child receives at the same age two or three banana trees.

3. Hair dressed in the shape of a coxcomb or a crescent.

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

301 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

● 302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

302 515 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions. Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 171 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 87), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures
411 which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
● 302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

272 One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, especially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, [302] the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. /2/). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[302] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
[301] also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

Plate 9

142
291
516
302

Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

000

Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

142
291
411
● 302

Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

644 of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another
701 son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals
wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or
[302] lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to
[692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding. Spell Casters and Bewitchers. Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and
644 thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

796
231
821

Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose [422] property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of [539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning [833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered [302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

How many unfortunate people payed with their lives for having been falsely accused of such supposed misdeeds!

789 The use of charms to win the good graces of Europeans survived
648 only by a few years the use of the above-mentioned poisons. When the latter were tagged as ineffective /to Europeans/, or at least dangerous in their consequences, charms (inzaratsi) were resorted to. The makers of charms, called by the generic name of Abanyamihango, "men of the traditions," exercise a vocation which is regarded as lucrative and honorable as long as the professionals do not overstep the limits of their art.

Public opinion indeed accuses them, most probably wrongly, of deceiving people and giving them poison instead of inoffensive
832 charms. Women, especially, resort to their art and use their powders
278 to draw upon themselves the attention and favors of an unfaithful or forgetful husband. Sorcerers in this category use for this purpose
[824] the following plants and shrubs: umukunde, which bears the evocative name of "tree of love," umutanga, umugobora, umukeri, a kind of wild bramble, nkurimonga, umuhire, buryoher' imfizi, that is, "the plant that suits the taste of bulls," etc. The makers of philters take the bark, leaves, or roots of those plants and dry them in the sun. The whole thing is crushed and reduced to powder. One need only put a little of this powder into beer or butter, or else /490/ rub it onto a stick or spear, to obtain the desired effect. The neglected wife who manages to make her husband drink this beer will inevitably regain
● [302] first place in his heart. The result is the same if the husband anoints his limbs and body with the butter containing the precious powder.

789 The use of a walking stick or the bearing of a spear rubbed
648 with one of those powders will bring good luck to the owner. His words and requests will all be accepted, and those he addresses will be unable to do him any harm.

This is why the king and court dignitaries attempted in their turn to use this simple and effective means of winning over the hearts of the Europeans and of swaying them toward their own needs and

643 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their
767 difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when
[415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and
[198 certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king
644] sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye, yatabaye, etc.).

767 It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name
644 that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they
643 are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the
765 official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden. Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky
● [302] has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads as a sign of mourning.

5: Pages--265 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

643
142
291
342
411
302
516
644

King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

643
644
292

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pagès--281 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A ceremony in front of the kiosk dedicated to the spirits.

346
516
415
302

415
516
787

A divination scene.

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

142
302
[301]
[854]

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42.

A leper.

142
164
301

Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

301
302
304

R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

291
293
142
[302]

A semicivilized (person).

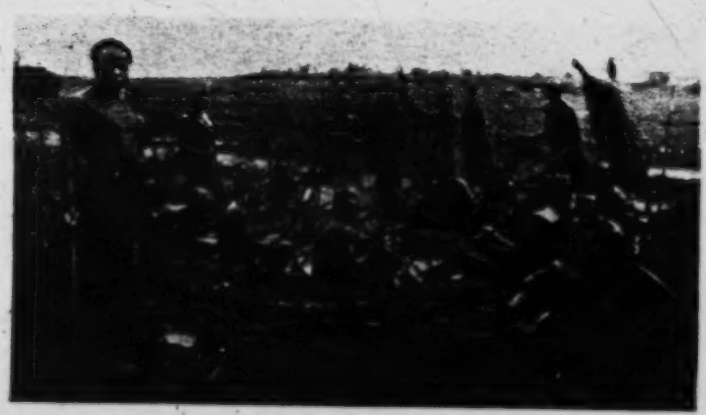
[177]

5. Pages--292 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

516
137
326
372
302

Blacksmiths at work outdoors. The iron ore is piled up over the hearth. The founders stir up the fire with primitive bellows.

326
516



Blacksmiths around their blast furnace.

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this. It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations, they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom [826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them. Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like ● [302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127] expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga
186 grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu,
563 who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

234 302 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter; they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and 415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

233 The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising. Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very difficult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For example, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval 233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special 465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however, held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 661 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers, where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276 415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a [312] pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

● 302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

[301]

Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2), I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

6: Czekanowski--78 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Short Definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 256.

limit myself to a brief discussion of the most common forms.

[182] In Kissaka the patterns reproduced here are the most common. Every pattern has a name. Thus the patterns of Figure 88 have the following names: (a), (b), and (c), mabangure or maagaleka; (d) amakike or bihome; (e) amazingure or amakube; and (f) mikaka.

The little tufts of hair are called induba.

The first examples are simple variations of the same basic pattern. The design (e) is worn primarily by girls, although I also saw them on men. In Mulera, pattern (e)

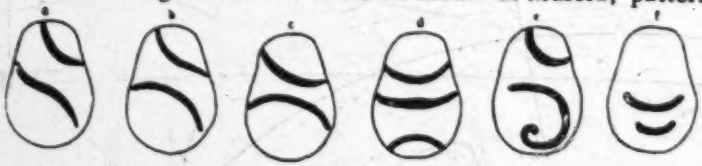


Fig. 88. Shaving Patterns from Kissaka.

is commonly worn by men and girls. In Bugoye this pattern is less common but was worn by old men, whereas in Kissaka it was the ornament of young girls. In Bugoye it is called kiziguzo.

The diagonal strips of hair are called imirara; the cross strips, intambiki. There may be two or three in number. If the imirara hair is very long, as I noted among the Batutsi, it is called inkanguralugo. The double spiral is called injerenge. I observed it in Bugoye and once in Bugessera. A ring of hair on top of the skull is called imikako. Married women shave their heads smooth. The completely shaven head of a woman is called imbalanguze. It is only in Bugoye that they leave a ring of hair around their heads. This is called ikikingo. Recently married women keep their masunzu until the first menstruation after marriage. To distinguish themselves from girls they wear two small crossed

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair [826] on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I

1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

382 At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

[113]

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, 291 the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are ● 302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens 585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

58 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 The Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 6

791
142
302

A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[16]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

142
291
302
564
516

XIII. A Tutsikazi.

[854
301]

XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]